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Provisional

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Thursday, 22 May 2003, 9.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Akram	(Pakistan)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-36758 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Expression of sympathy to the Government and the people of Algeria in connection with the recent earthquake

The President: At the outset of the meeting, I should like, on behalf of the Security Council, to extend our heartfelt sympathy to the Government and the people of Algeria in connection with the earthquake which occurred in the vicinity of Thenia, resulting in considerable devastation and loss of life. I would request the representative of Algeria to convey to his Government and the families of the victims our sincere condolences.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/556, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*The Syrian Arab Republic did not participate in the voting.**

The President: The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against and no abstentions. One member of the Council did not participate in the voting. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1483 (2003).

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to make statements after the voting.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): The lifting of sanctions marks a momentous event for the people of Iraq. It is the turning of a historical page that should brighten the future of a people and a region. The threatening actions and defiance of Saddam Hussain's brutal regime prolonged the imposition of sanctions for nearly 13 years. Those sanctions have now been lifted.

The liberation of Iraq has cleared the path for today's action. We all witnessed an Iraqi State under Saddam Hussain that was unwilling adequately to feed its people — a State in which critical infrastructure projects were left to languish while luxurious palaces were built, and a State in which free political expression was cruelly repressed and punished. Together, the Council has taken decisive action to help the Iraqi people.

My Government called for this vote this morning because we firmly believed that each additional day of debate over the language of this important text would further hinder recovery. The gas lines are long despite blessedly little damage to Iraq's residual infrastructure. After more than a decade of being frozen out of the world economy, it is time for the Iraqi people to benefit from their natural resources.

President Bush and Prime Minister Blair said last month at Hillsborough that the United Nations should play a vital role in rebuilding Iraq. In passing this resolution we have achieved much for the people of Iraq. By recognizing the fluidity of the political situation and that decisions will be made on the

* At the 4762nd (resumed) meeting, in the afternoon of 22 May, the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic took the floor in connection with this vote, explaining that the Syrian Arab Republic would have voted in favour of this resolution had it been granted the additional time before the voting that it had requested on more than one occasion. The text of his statement is in the official record of the 4762nd (resumed) meeting.

ground, the Security Council has provided a flexible framework under Chapter VII for the coalition provisional Authority, Member States, the United Nations and others in the international community to participate in the administration and reconstruction of Iraq and to assist the Iraqi people in determining their political future, establishing new institutions and restoring economic prosperity to the country.

The resolution affirms our commitment to the development of an internationally recognized representative Government of Iraq. It creates a robust mandate for a Special Representative of the Secretary-General, including to work with the people of Iraq, the Authority and others concerned — including neighbouring States — to help make this vision a reality. The resolution establishes a framework for an orderly phase-out of the oil-for-food programme, thereby preserving, for a transitional period, what has become an important safety net for the people of Iraq. The resolution establishes transparency in all processes, and United Nations participation in monitoring the sale of Iraqi oil resources and expenditures of oil proceeds. In that context, I am pleased to announce the creation of the Development Fund for Iraq in the Central Bank of Iraq. As the resolution underlines, the Authority will disburse the funds only for the purposes it determines to benefit the Iraqi people.

The resolution lifts export restrictions to Iraq, with the exception of trade in arms and related materiel not required by the coalition provisional Authority. Aviation restrictions are also lifted. But Iraq's disarmament obligations remain, and Member States remain barred from assisting Iraq in acquiring weapons of mass destruction and proscribed missile systems or proceeding with civil nuclear activities so long as those restrictions remain in effect.

The resolution provides Iraq with adequate time to recover capacity eroded during the sanctions years, yet it preserves its obligations to Kuwait and others who suffered from Saddam Hussain's aggression dating from 1990. It addresses Iraq's sovereign debt, the protection of Iraqi antiquities and accountability for serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by the previous regime. It also directs Member States to act quickly to seize and return to the Iraqi people money stolen by Saddam Hussain's regime.

But we cannot be complacent. Now that we have adopted this resolution the work must begin on implementing it. The Secretariat and the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General must prepare for their work on the urgent humanitarian, reconstruction and political tasks to which it will contribute. Member States must work to fulfil the obligations and provisions contained in the resolution. For our part, in addition to our responsibilities in Iraq as leaders of the coalition provisional Authority, we will undertake to inform the Council on a quarterly basis of progress in implementing the resolution, in the spirit of paragraph 24.

The United States is appreciative of the constructive spirit with which the Council has considered and strengthened the provisions of the text we put forward with our co-sponsors. We look forward to working closely with all members to implement this important decision.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): The Iraqi people must take control of its own future, both at home, where a representative and sovereign Government must be established as speedily as possible by the Iraqis themselves, and within the international community, to which Iraq must soon return.

There are many challenges. The situation in the country remains unstable. Security has not yet been fully restored. The humanitarian situation of the people remains precarious. Economic and social reconstruction will take time and require the energetic, ongoing mobilization of the international community. A political process leading to the establishment of representative institutions that respect the rights of each Iraqi has yet to be launched.

The resolution that we have just adopted is not perfect. Significant improvements, however, were introduced at each stage of the negotiations. We believe that it now provides a credible framework within which the international community will be able to lend support to the Iraqi people. That is why we supported it. Now, all of its potential must be fully exploited in order, without further ado, to undertake the effort of rebuilding Iraq in all areas.

Security must be restored as soon as possible throughout the territory of Iraq. The resolution affirms the obligations of the occupying Powers in this area, in conformity with their obligations under international

humanitarian law. It also recalls that the verified disarmament of Iraq remains our shared objective and in this regard preserves the role of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission and of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Only the international inspectors can, in due course, reassure the international community that this objective has been attained.

With the lifting of civilian sanctions and the forthcoming resumption of petroleum exports, Iraq should have the resources necessary to rebuild its economy and improve the humanitarian and social situations of its people. The resolution recalls that these resources, which belong to the Iraqi people, should be used exclusively for their benefit and in the greatest possible transparency. The International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq, established under the resolution, will serve as guarantor in that respect.

The resolution also provides for a gradual winding down of the oil for food programme. We must ensure that this transfer of responsibilities takes place in an orderly manner in practice — that is, in a manner compatible with the improvement of the humanitarian situation of the Iraqis, the credibility of the United Nations and respect for Iraq's commitments.

In the area of humanitarian affairs and reconstruction, and in particular in the political sphere, the resolution substantiates the essential role of the United Nations, which France, alongside many others, has tirelessly defended. More than ever before, the strong and independent involvement of the United Nations in defining and leading the political process will condition the success of this exercise — in other words, its ownership by the Iraqi people and its acceptance by countries of the region and by the international community. The stability of Iraq, and hence of the entire region, is at stake. We also believe that the process of political transition in Iraq would gain in effectiveness and credibility if a precise procedure and timetable for establishing a representative and internationally recognized Iraqi Government were defined.

We have every faith that the Secretary-General will nominate the best possible Special Representative. We assure him in advance of our full support.

The resolution that we have just adopted attributes to the occupying Powers broad authorities in the area of international humanitarian law and the necessary means to exercise those authorities. By voting in favour of the resolution, France sought to express its support for this difficult endeavour, which now involves the entire international community. These broad authorities entail responsibilities vis-à-vis, first, the Iraqi people, which must take its own destiny into its own hands as soon as possible; and secondly, the international community, because it has recognized the existence of the rights and obligations of the Authority and addressed specific requests to it.

The Security Council must therefore continue to be closely involved in the situation in Iraq, in particular through the information which the Special Representative, the United States and the United Kingdom will regularly provide it, pursuant to the resolution. It will reassess all the provisions of the resolution within 12 months' time, at the latest.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): I warmly welcome the presence of the Secretary-General at this important meeting.

The United Kingdom welcomes the adoption of this resolution and the constructive negotiations which preceded it. The whole United Nations system will hope that the vote which we have just taken marks a return to sustained consensus on one of the most difficult foreign policy issues we have faced. The United Kingdom will work to maintain that collective approach.

We shall be discussing in detail later this morning the response to the humanitarian situation in Iraq. The United Kingdom has operated in Iraq from the beginning strictly in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Hague Regulations.

I should like to highlight three elements of this important resolution. First, it sets out a vital and independent post-conflict role, covering a wide range of important areas, for the United Nations. I hope that the Secretary-General will very rapidly appoint and deploy a strong Special Representative to drive forward the United Nations activities. The United Kingdom looks forward to working alongside that appointment, not least to ensure the early establishment of an internationally recognized representative Government by the people of Iraq.

Secondly, it lifts the burden of the most comprehensive sanctions regime ever imposed by the

United Nations. With economic sanctions terminated, the efforts of the people of Iraq to rebuild their economy will be significantly strengthened. The new Development Fund for Iraq will ensure that oil revenues are used in a transparent manner to meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people, assist economic reconstruction, allow for continued disarmament and promote other purposes benefiting the people of Iraq. An International Advisory and Monitoring Board, coupled with independent auditing, will help guarantee that Iraq's resources are once again used exclusively to benefit its people.

Thirdly, the resolution gives a sound basis for the international community to come together, in the interests of the Iraqi people, consistent with international law. We look forward to increased international and United Nations involvement helping the people of Iraq to reform their institutions, rebuild their country and enjoy conditions of stability and security in a stable regional environment.

Throughout our negotiations on this resolution, I said that it was not an omnibus — that it did not seek to resolve every issue. Among the issues we will need to take up in due course are the functions of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency as they relate to the complete disarmament of Iraq under previous resolutions. The United Kingdom continues to see a role for both bodies in the eventual confirmation of disarmament and perhaps, if the Council agrees, in longer-term monitoring and verification. The Council will also need to consider the future of the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission, the maintenance of the arms embargo, progress on repatriating Kuwaiti and third-State nationals and the Kuwaiti archives, and other issues flowing from or relevant to this resolution. I can assure colleagues that the United Kingdom is committed to reporting regularly on its efforts and would expect to do so on a quarterly basis. We also are committed to a serious review of the resolution within 12 months, considering further steps that might be necessary.

The adoption of this resolution lays the foundation for an operational partnership between the United Nations and other players in Iraq, including, most importantly, the Iraqis themselves. The experience and expertise of the United Nations in returning a troubled country to the hands of its own people is an instrument which the United Kingdom admires and respects. It must be fully used in Iraq.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): The resolution on Iraq that we have just adopted gives us a basis for practical steps on the ground in order to improve the conditions for the Iraqi people and to stabilize the political and economic situation.

This resolution is a compromise reached after intensive and sometimes difficult negotiations. By definition, it does not fulfil the every wish of all parties. But as compared to the initial draft of the sponsors, we have achieved substantial improvements. The resolution provides a framework in which the United Nations has been strengthened and can take a central role in the political and economic process.

The Secretary-General will now be represented by a Special Representative who we expect to fully implement his independent responsibilities in promoting the political process leading to the early formation of an internationally recognized, representative Government of Iraq. The Security Council is to be fully informed by the Secretary-General as well as by the United States and the United Kingdom. The Security Council will review this resolution within 12 months and, if necessary, consider further steps.

The disarmament issue is kept on the Council's agenda, and funding for the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is ensured. In the economic sector, a maximum of transparency will be achieved. The International Advisory and Monitoring Board overseeing the Development Fund for Iraq assembles a vast body of expertise on rebuilding economies ravaged by war and totalitarian systems. We expect the Board to take full responsibility with respect to its task of providing transparency and that the Security Council will be receiving regular reports on its work.

In this resolution, we have left behind the divisions of the past for the sake of the people of Iraq. Sanctions will be lifted. A process of political and economic reconstruction will be started. It is important now to give the Iraqi people the perspective of building a democratic and stable Government, at peace with itself and its regional neighbours — a respected member of the family of nations. The United Nations

system will help them to realize it. Germany stands ready to contribute to their efforts.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I believe that this is a very important day for the people of Iraq as well as for the United Nations. The Security Council, as a whole, has understood that the time to be realistic has now come. Some may say that this resolution is not perfect, but no one can deny that it provides an appropriate legal framework for dealing with the special, anomalous and grave situation facing the international community.

I believe, therefore, that we have adopted an important, indispensable and relevant resolution. I can say this because, leaving aside the recent past, it sets out some fundamental principles: first, that of the sovereignty and integrity of Iraq; secondly, the principle that the Iraqis alone are the owners of their political future and their economic resources; thirdly, guidelines for the conduct of the authorities that will be managing this transitional period in Iraq — and transparency in economic affairs is not the least relevant of these guidelines; and, fourthly, it provides an important and independent role for the United Nations.

I very much hope that today, in addition to being a significant day, will be a day of hope, primarily for the people of Iraq. We wish them in the immediate future peace, stability and the fullest freedom. But we hope also that for the United Nations, having overcome the mood of recent days, today's consensus will augur well with respect to the many challenges facing the world and the Council today — African issues, terrorism, the situation in the Middle East, and so on.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation, too, welcomes the presence of Secretary-General Kofi Annan here today. Mexico decided to vote in favour of the resolution and thus to join the near-unanimous agreement reached in the Security Council with respect to this important instrument, which sets in motion the process of Iraq's reconstruction.

The motivation behind this decision is the intention to make a contribution so that, without further delay, the parties involved can discharge their responsibilities and attend to the urgent needs of the Iraqi people. Mexico's immediate goal is to bring about a normalization of the situation in Iraq, so that the people themselves, by fully recovering and exercising their sovereignty, will be in a position, at the earliest opportunity, to dictate their own political future.

The text of this resolution in undoubtedly a compromise text. The negotiations were fruitful. Throughout that process, changes were made and progress achieved that made possible near-unanimous agreement. During the intensive discussions that preceded the vote, the members of the Security Council had to rebuild their understanding and find new ways of reconciling their views in order to reclaim the purpose and direction of the Council as regards Iraq.

Now, in the context of the post-conflict situation, Mexico believes that the Security Council must look to the future, act effectively, and take decisions and apply measures aimed at ensuring that reconstruction brings about the longed-for well-being of the Iraqi people, within the framework of the restoration of its sovereignty and independence, in an atmosphere of stability and justice for Iraq and security and peace for the entire region.

The new consensus achieved in the Council with respect to the adoption of the resolution is based precisely on the fact that, over and above our differences, we have an institutional commitment and obligation that derives from the mandate entrusted to this organ by the Charter of the United Nations. Consensus within the Council and the institutional commitment of its members is expressed through the agreement to lift all the sanctions — except, in part, the arms embargo — that were imposed on Iraq, and the termination within six months of the oil for food programme — all of this in order to promote the early reconstruction of Iraq.

This resolution has many other angles and implications as regards the manner in which the circumstances in Iraq will be handled, but it serves as the starting point for a process, the complexity and challenges of which are still not clearly understood. It provides for fostering conditions that will lead to what Mexico hopes will be the prompt termination of the military occupation and the rapid establishment by the Iraqi people of an autonomous and legitimate Government, with full capacity to engage in international relations.

In parallel, the resolution establishes the independent role and the tasks to be shouldered by the United Nations, as regards both the promotion and coordination of humanitarian assistance, and the

creation of conditions for the establishment of a sovereign and autonomous Iraqi Government.

On that basis, the challenge of the United Nations will be to ensure respect for the fundamental principles on which the Organization is based and vigorously to become involved in the reconstruction process, to guide and support the Iraqi people in achieving their long-term economic and social goals.

Beyond the resolution itself, the United Nations role in Iraq will depend to a considerable extent, on the one hand, on the singleness of purpose, the commitment and the agility of the Security Council, and on the other, on the professional ability and capacities of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, whose post is created in this resolution.

Once the Special Representative's office is set up, the United Nations will have to involve itself proactively not only in promoting humanitarian assistance but also in many other tasks, such as sustainable development, gender equality, the defence and promotion of human rights including the investigation of violations committed in recent years, and the crafting of legislation to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Under the resolution, both the Secretary-General and the occupying Powers must keep the Security Council periodically informed of their activities. This should make it possible for the Council to remain vigilant to the situation in Iraq, to be attentive to circumstances in the field, and thus to modify or update the terms of the resolution as required.

From my country's perspective, the process of Iraq's reconstruction, which starts with this resolution, does indeed require an alert and committed attitude on the part of the Security Council. We must be careful to ensure that all the parties involved in Iraq will facilitate compliance with, or the restoration of, the rights to which reference is made in the resolution, mainly those relating to sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to the Iraqi people's right to their natural resources, particularly oil, and their inalienable right to endow themselves with their preferred form of government.

This resolution does not authorize the establishment of long-term commitments that would alienate the sovereignty of the Iraqi people over its petroleum resources. At this stage, all proceeds should be strictly channelled towards Iraq's development and the improvement of its people's living conditions. Mexico has advocated this throughout the negotiations, and it is in those terms that we understand the resolution. It contemplates an Advisory and Monitoring Board that must guarantee that Iraq's oil is handled in a totally transparent manner during this stage. The Security Council will be kept informed by the Secretary-General of the functioning of this Board, and it will have to make sure that the commitment of transparency is met.

Iraq's future poses a great challenge to the United Nations. If we are to confront it squarely, we must strengthen our own Organization.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Resolution 1483 (2003), adopted today by the Security Council, is of particular importance for the Iraqi people and also for the future activities of the United Nations on key problems relating to the maintenance of international peace and security in new conditions.

The Russian Federation is pleased at the results obtained during the negotiations. Definitely — and many colleagues stressed this point — there was compromise. But, to make this compromise possible, all participants in the negotiations took steps to accommodate one another, even on matters where it seemed at first to be difficult to narrow the gaps between initial positions. The fact that this was largely possible attests to the recognition by all Council members that the legitimate and just settlement of the Iraqi problem is possible only on a collective basis, and based on the United Nations Charter, which provides reliable legal frameworks for resolving the most complex tasks of our day.

Of course, the resolution that was worked out as a result of these negotiations does not give final answers to all questions on the Iraqi settlement. Its significance is primarily that it creates an international legal basis for joint efforts to be made by the entire international community to deal with the crisis and outlines clear guidelines and principles for those efforts.

I would refer, first of all, to the observance by the occupying Powers of international humanitarian law; secondly, to the guaranteeing of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq; and finally, to the speedy restoration, in practice, of the right of the Iraqi people

themselves to determine their political future and to gain control over their natural resources.

The attainment of those goals should be facilitated by the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who has been entrusted with independent functions in virtually all areas, including participation in the political process, through the creation of an internationally recognized Government of Iraq. The Special Representative would have direct access to Iraqi political forces and to other countries of the Middle East region.

The resolution assigns an important role to the United Nations, to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General at all stages of the settlement. The Council will regularly monitor the entire process through consideration of reports from the Secretary-General and from representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom about what they are doing in Iraq. It is important that in 12 months' time there will be a thorough Council review of the resolution's implementation, including the elaboration of further steps that might be necessary for an Iraqi settlement.

This resolution significantly increases the opportunities for resolving the acute ongoing humanitarian problems facing the Iraqi people and for rehabilitating the devastated infrastructure and restoring a normally functioning economy. To that end, apart from the lifting of economic sanctions, within the next six months, the potential of the oil-for-food programme should be actively and fully used, with maximum attention being given to decisions already taken within the framework of the programme at previous stages.

It is important that agreement was reached in a gradual transition, without any sudden movements, from humanitarian programmes to new methods of exporting Iraqi oil and spending the export earnings until a legitimate, internationally recognized Iraqi Government is established.

All these activities in the interim period will be transparent and will be carried out under the control of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board, with the participation of the plenipotentiary representative of the Secretary-General, who will report back to the Security Council.

The resolution clearly reaffirms the need to clarify the issue of Iraqi programmes of weapons of mass destruction, taking into account previous Council decisions as well as the mandates of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The next opportunity to consider that aspect of the Iraqi settlement will come at the beginning of next month, when the Council receives its regular report from UNMOVIC. We look forward to receiving from coalition forces, as requested in the resolution, information on their efforts to find traces of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction programmes. We hope that the corresponding provisions of the resolution will make it possible, de jure and de facto, finally to reach closure on this issue and to implement Council resolutions that seek to prevent the resumption of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programmes.

Also of great importance is the need to complete the implementation of other United Nations resolutions on individuals reported missing during the first Gulf war, on the payment of compensation following that war and on the settlement of Iraq's foreign debt. That should take place in accordance with international standards, inter alia, within the Paris Club.

On the whole, agreement on resolution 1483 (2003) reaffirmed the desire of all members of the Council constructively to find generally acceptable agreements that will genuinely help the Iraqi people to regain full sovereignty as soon as possible. We are convinced that this task must remain central to our future efforts.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Bulgaria welcomes the adoption of resolution 1483 (2003) because it will enable the Iraqi people to regain full control of their future. The Bulgarian delegation was very happy to participate in the discussions leading to the adoption of the present resolution: a very constructive spirit reigned during the discussions, making possible a genuine dialogue among Council members. The sponsors of the original draft resolution listened to the concerns of other Council members, who, in turn, were able to respond with a willingness to compromise that ultimately proved very useful.

Bulgaria welcomes the adoption of the resolution because the United Nations is to play a vital and independent, even central role in resolving Iraq's problems during the post-conflict period. Problems will be resolved through a genuine partnership between the

Special Representative of the Secretary-General and coalition forces. We have complete confidence in the Secretary-General as he selects his Special Representative, and we promise him my country's full support in the Security Council and on the ground.

Beyond the question of Iraq, we must recognize that in this period of globalization, the United Nations has become an essential, indispensable organization. If the United Nations did not exist, we would have to invent it.

Mr. Traoré (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): Guinea welcomes the adoption of resolution 1483 (2003), which in many respects constitutes a success for the United Nations in general and for the Security Council in particular. The Council has returned to consensus: its golden rule. This resolution is a real source of satisfaction for my delegation, as it responds to the urgent humanitarian needs in Iraq, to which my country attaches great importance.

During the discussions, our effort was inspired by the abiding concern to stress the overriding interests of the Iraqi people, who have already paid a heavy price under the dictatorship and the sanctions regime. That concern is reflected in the urgent need to recognize the Iraqis' right to self-determination and control over their country's natural resources. It should also be noted that this resolution is proof of the Council's ability to overcome differences and regain its unity, whatever the crisis it faces. It certainly puts an end to questions arising from the Iraqi crisis with respect to the Council's credibility and effectiveness — in short, its ability to best carry out its primary mission of ensuring international peace and security.

Our vote in favour of resolution 1483 (2003) means that we are in favour of the immediate lifting of sanctions, which are no longer justified.

Finally, my delegation welcomes the important role given to the United Nations in the rebuilding of Iraq. We express the hope that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General will fully play his rightful role in this crucial phase for Iraq's future.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): We welcome the presence of the Secretary-General at today's meeting.

China has always supported and attached great importance to the role of the United Nations on the issue of Iraq and, even more, in the area of post-conflict reconstruction. Such involvement will not only contribute to long-term peace and stability in Iraq in particular and the Gulf and the Middle East region in general, but also contribute to maintaining the credibility and authority of the United Nations.

The Chinese delegation, with a constructive attitude, actively participated in the consultations on the draft resolution that has been adopted as resolution 1483 (2003) and proposed a number of amendments. We note that the sponsoring countries took into consideration the views of other parties and revised the original text. Some of China's specific concerns have not been resolved satisfactorily, but in the light of the Iraqi people's urgent need for reconstruction, China voted in favour of the resolution. We hope that resolution 1483 (2003) can be smoothly and effectively implemented; that the Secretary-General can appoint a Special Representative as soon as possible; and that the United Nations can effectively play its due role in the process of post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq.

As well, we hope that Iraq, a country that has suffered tremendously from hardship and war, can return to normalcy and rejoin the international community as soon as possible.

Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): As it did on 8 November 2002 at the time of the adoption of resolution 1441 (2002), Cameroon would like to begin by welcoming the presence among us of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan.

We have just unanimously adopted resolution 1483 (2003), on the post-conflict management of Iraq. Cameroon welcomes that event.

This is a great moment for the Council, which has returned to the path of reconciliation. The resolution sends a message of confidence in the Iraqi people, who today deserve to freely take charge of their economic and social affairs, as well as their political future. I will return to that point later.

From the outset, Cameroon supported the ideas and basic principles of resolution 1483 (2003). Cameroon believed from the beginning that the situation no longer justified the maintenance of economic sanctions against Iraq. Cameroon was convinced of the need for the United Nations again to play a role in the situation in Iraq. Finally, Cameroon believed that it was for the Iraqis themselves to define the type of Government they wanted and to choose

their own leaders. All of those concerns have been taken into account in the resolution, and we welcome that.

As we said earlier, the Council has returned to the path of dialogue, consultation and unity. Given its unique role in the maintenance of peace and security, that has sent a very strong signal to the international community. We hope that the women and men who will be working to implement the provisions of this historic text will do so in a coordinated and complementary fashion, in the sole interests of the Iraqi people. Such is Cameroon's appeal to the coalition Authority, the Secretary-General and the Member States, which, in the near future, will be involved in rebuilding that great country.

As we said earlier, resolution 1483 (2003) sends a twofold message. It is an expression of confidence in the women and men of Iraq, whose qualities are recognized by all. We have every confidence that the Iraqi people will be able to draw on their thousands of years of history to find the necessary moral resources to heal the wounds resulting from the tragic past 30 years. We have every confidence that they will build a new Iraq — no longer a country of arms and tears, but one that is faithful to its destiny and to its name, which means "country of waters", and, therefore, "country of life".

Resolution 1483 (2003) thus sends a message of confidence. It also sends a message of active solidarity on the part of the international community. The Council has been unanimous in telling the Iraqis, forcefully and unequivocally, that the international community will work side by side with them in support of them — not in place of them. At the same time, in order to ensure the effectiveness of this support, the Council calls upon all external actors — the coalition, the United Nations, Member States and non-governmental organizations — to coordinate their activities, to complement each other and to avoid any kind of competition among themselves, which would definitely be counterproductive.

In that regard, the need for transparency and effectiveness is for us absolutely essential. The guarantee of our collective credibility is at stake.

Mr. Maquieira (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): The resolution that has just been adopted, with the support of Chile, contains important provisions concerning the political process in Iraq, the role of the United Nations, with specific instructions for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and for the supervision of the Development Fund for Iraq, and what the Council must do 12 months from now with regard to implementation.

The resolution lifts the sanctions imposed on Iraq — a situation not appropriate to the needs of the Iraqi people — and thus takes an important and urgently required step towards normalizing the economy of that country and integrating it into the international community.

Furthermore, the resolution just adopted envisages a process for the progressive winding down of the oil for food programme in an orderly and equitable manner that is not detrimental to the Iraqi people. Another important fact is that the resolution has made it possible to restore the Council's collective capacity to agree on a process of political, economic and social reconstruction for Iraq.

For Chile, the text meets the need to safeguard the country's political sovereignty, its territorial integrity and its people's control over the natural resources. In short, the Council has adopted an important resolution today, based on a strong political agreement that will be very important in the various stages of its implementation. It focuses on significantly improving the conditions of life for the Iraqi people after decades of suffering.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): The Angolan delegation, which voted in favour of the resolution, welcomes the outcome of the vote. The delegation of Angola extends its appreciation to the sponsors of the resolution — Spain, the United States and the United Kingdom — as well as to the other members of the Council for the constructive spirit of compromise in the process leading to the adoption of the resolution. We commend the efforts undertaken by all to ensure that the resolution could obtain the largest possible support from Council members.

My delegation supported the resolution on the understanding that its adoption would contribute to restoring the necessary unity of purpose of the Security Council — unity that was bruised by the divisions over the question of Iraq that characterized recent months. The vote also reinstates the spirit of the principle of multilateralism in the Council's decisions and actions, thus enabling the Council to better play the role in the maintenance of international peace and security

entrusted to it by the international community. It is also our understanding that, through the adoption of the resolution and by compliance with its provisions, the occupying Powers of Iraq are legally bound to strictly respect international law, the Iraqi people's sovereign rights and their right to the natural resources of the country, as well as the right to freely determine, in due course — I hope, soon — their political future.

The role that the United Nations will play in Iraq's post-war processes is an important feature of the resolution. My Government looks forward to working with the United Nations with a view to ensuring that the objectives set out in the resolution are fully met. The resolution takes into account the United Nations wealth of experience, which will guarantee that this role is indeed vital in all respects.

It is my Government's conviction that the resolution safeguards the fundamental rights of the Iraqi people. We hope that an environment permitting Iraqis to govern themselves and to choose a representative Government will very soon be created in Iraq.

It is my delegation's expectation that the bitter lessons learned with regard to the issue of Iraq will contribute throughout the world to strengthening respect for human rights, compliance with international law and the upholding of multilateralism as the cornerstone of the work of the Security Council.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Pakistan.

I would like, first of all, once again to welcome the presence of the Secretary-General at this important meeting.

During and after the Iraq conflict, the welfare and security of the fraternal people of Iraq has remained a fundamental concern for the people and the Government of Pakistan. The Iraqi people have suffered tremendously over the past few decades. Their suffering must now come to an end.

Pakistan sincerely attempted to prevent another conflict in the Gulf. We regretted the outbreak of the conflict. Our position on this resolution has been guided by the objectives of promoting the welfare of the Iraqi people, of promoting peace and stability in the region and of restoring the international rule of law in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Pakistan has supported this resolution for several reasons. First, the resolution specifically upholds the principles of the United Nations Charter as they relate to Iraq. It affirms the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. It stresses the right of the Iraqi people to freely determine their own political future and to control their own natural resources. It affirms the imperative of respect for international law, especially the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Regulations.

Secondly, this resolution lifts the sanctions long enforced against the Iraqi people and opens the door to the provision of relief and humanitarian assistance to them, to the revival of the Iraqi economy, to Iraq's reconstruction and to the installation of a representative Government that can be recognized by the international community and that can soon take its place here at the United Nations in the comity of free nations.

Thirdly, this resolution accords an independent and vital role to the United Nations and to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in the provision of humanitarian relief to the Iraqi people, in the reconstruction of Iraq, in the management of its resources and its economic revival and in facilitating the process of bringing forth a representative Government. Pakistan looks forward to the early appointment of the Secretary-General's Special Representative. We expect that the role of the United Nations and the Secretary-General will become even more central in Iraq in the coming months.

Fourthly, the resolution, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth preambular paragraphs and in operative paragraph 1, opens the door to the friends of Iraq to contribute to the welfare of the Iraqi people, including to the creation of an environment of peace and security in Iraq.

Pakistan, like several other members of the Security Council, has agreed, due to the exigencies of the circumstances, to the delegation of certain powers by the Security Council to the occupying Powers, represented by the Authority. It is our expectation that the responsibilities entrusted to the Authority under this resolution will be exercised transparently and fairly and, above all, in the interests of the Iraqi people.

We welcome the continuing role that the United Nations will play in the oversight functions. It is necessary, in that context, to recall that under the Charter the powers delegated by the Security Council under this resolution are not open-ended or unqualified.

They should be exercised in ways that conform with "the principles of justice and international law" mentioned in Article 1 of the Charter, and especially in conformity with the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Regulations, besides the Charter itself.

The resolution, as has been noted by the representative of the United Kingdom, is not an omnibus resolution. There are several issues that will have to be addressed by the Security Council in the coming weeks and months. Those include, first, the certification by the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency that Iraq is free of weapons of mass destruction; secondly, the end of the arms embargo against Iraq; thirdly, the clarification and possible enlargement of the United Nations role in the future; fourthly, specific measures for the recovery of Iraq's looted archaeological heritage; and, fifthly, resolution of the problem of Kuwaiti and third-country missing nationals.

Pakistan welcomes the provisions in the resolution relating to regular reporting to the Security Council by the Secretary-General as well as by the United States and the United Kingdom, representing the Authority. It is Pakistan's earnest hope that representative government will soon be restored and that Iraq's sovereignty and political independence will come about as soon as possible. A secure and stable regional environment is imperative for the realization of the fundamental objectives of this resolution. Pakistan continues to hope that there will be parallel progress in resolving the other outstanding conflicts and disputes that bedevil this region.

I now resume my functions as the President of the Security Council.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General, who desires to make a statement.

The Secretary-General: We should all be gratified that the Council has come together to chart the way forward in Iraq. As members know, I have always held that the unity of the Council is the indispensable foundation for effective action to maintain international peace and security and international law.

The Council has adopted a resolution that spells out the assistance it expects the United Nations to give to the people of Iraq in coordination with the occupying Powers, which have the responsibility for the effective administration of the territory. The mandate which the Security Council has given us involves complex and difficult tasks, but we will carry it out to the best of our ability, just as we are already carrying out our vital task of humanitarian relief.

Whatever differences there have been in the recent past, we now have a new basis on which to work, and we must all work very hard, keeping the interests of Iraqis at the forefront of all our efforts. Our most important task will be to ensure that the people of Iraq — men and women alike — are able as soon as possible, through a transparent and impartially managed political process, to form a free and representative Government of their own choice, so that they can regain their national sovereignty and build a stable and prosperous Iraq at peace with its neighbours.

The United Nations will play its full part in this international effort. The Security Council has asked me to name a Special Representative to lead on our side. I will do so without delay. The full support of all members of the Council will be essential and I am confident that my Representative will have that support.

The President: The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.25 a.m.